

12/ John La Rose, Give me your impressions of the possibilities of self determination within society or for the individual.

JLR

I was interested in the subject of this conference, *Self determination and power*, because there is a limit to self determination; determined by genetic inheritance, by geographic inheritance and social inheritance. In other words we are not voluntarists in the sense that we can do what we like with ourselves, because ourselves <sup>or</sup> ~~became the bond~~ <sup>depend upon</sup> the genes we have inherited <sup>ad</sup> ~~depend~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>from</sup> geography of which we have come <sup>from</sup>, the way our bodies have been located, and the social context of that location. So that is the first point I wish to make. But it is important to see what self determination means in this sense, *that* Self determination means that there is an extent to which the individual would like to change his circumstances, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ sometimes *does*, *that*, <sup>I</sup> ~~In~~ those circumstances the individual has to in some way conceive to what Rousseau(?) called 'the general will'. That is to say he cannot act by himself to change things, ~~He~~ must act in concert with others, <sup>and</sup> because of that, it means that for that collective action to take place and be <sup>built</sup> ~~called~~ <sup>impelled forward</sup> upon, there is a serious implication that individual self determination, of the kind romantics talk about, <sup>but</sup> ~~it~~ has a tremendous limitation to it. And that collective action has been part of human existence for quite a long historical period.

12/ First point - Going from that, to what extent are the constraints on self determination? To what extent can <sup>the constraints on self-determination</sup> ~~they~~ be overcome by the individual, *do you think?* Do you think it is possible without changing the structures ~~of~~ themselves?

I.H.S.

Without entering into an organization I think one of the crisis that many people find themselves in today is that they do not feel as individuals that they can do anything to change things, ~~and so~~ they sit at home and feel very depressed, and the way in which people are going to change things, in other words to reach any individual self determination, is that you have to do something in an organized way with other peoples with whom you are in social relation, ~~and so~~ the whole question of self determination is a collective thing. I mean <sup>a</sup> Usually when we talk about self determination I think we are talking about national self determination. ~~and~~ The implication of that is that it is a collective act and so, I mean, I share very much John's point of view that it is a romantic idea to think that an individual can reach a position of self determination in the sort of society we live in. It's a nonsense really.

Q Is there any specific points we could talk about today?

Q Is there any particular aspect of what <sup>CHOMSKY?</sup> Johnson has been saying you want to be done to it?

Any input there ROXY

R.H.

I didn't want to talk about Chomsky, what I was interested in was the possibilities for people to combine with other people to take action for <sup>changing their</sup> circumstances. And I am particularly interested in what people in Scotland can do that can strengthen what people like me are trying to do in London to change our circumstances. <sup>And</sup> One of the things I picked up from being at the conference is that people appear ~~ed~~ to have a feeling that they can't do things, which seems to be something to do with the dominance of the Labour party and ~~some of the~~ <sup>Certain union bureaucracies</sup>

of the Communist po  
ave failed. At the  
they cannot do thi  
d in how we can hav  
ures. One of the t  
as something about  
do all these little  
the media. And I  
uld

What can we d  
we are doing to ours  
it is not difficult  
g this and it is ava  
re available and wor  
ople in the society.

IMD  
Revolution taking e  
Can you imagine the e  
volution had taken pla

RH  
we are genuinely inte  
bout the past lectures  
we expect those past  
em ourselves  
interested in People's i  
he people on the groun  
get on with that and n  
s are doing the

y. People feel that these  
ame time they are not Tories  
s outside their structures and I  
a sensitive outside  
ngs that somebody said at the  
e of the discussion groups I was  
hings where we don't get any  
very interested in the fact  
n which it was given and just  
to circulate the information  
ves and other people, and in the  
us to do it. For example you  
ble to ordinary people.  
processors are available to

ot in Romania on our television  
ot their would have been if the  
on our television screens.

sted in change and generally  
n which Chomsky was saying that  
ctures to give us a platform to  
So that's one of the things I  
ividual struggles where they  
is a big agent for change and  
be dominated by what existing  
dissatisfied.

IMCD

I think another question that came up in the education workshop yesterday, which had quite a lot of discussion, was the way in which organizations like the Black Parents Movement have really opened up the national <sup>question</sup> ~~quest~~ in Britain, in a way which has really forced everyone to take it in very different and serious ways. ~~And~~ I know your contribution yesterday was really quite an important one.

JLR

When you begin to struggle within a society you have to examine that society in ways ~~that~~ you didn't need to examine it before. I knew British society as a person living in the Caribbean; Through studying English history and studying European history, European culture, novels, writers, ~~histories~~ and so on. But living in a society where you <sup>have</sup> ~~have~~ got to combine with others to change your life and other peoples lives along with yours, which is what self determination means to me, ~~meant~~ that you had to take a much more detailed examination of this context of your actions. Given that, in 1976 just after we formed the black parents movement at one of the meetings we had in fighting the police, <sup>it</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>the Woodhouse</sup> ~~called a~~ 22 case, ~~and~~ <sup>at</sup> there we said to the small audience of some 100 people, mostly black: "Look, Britain is a society, <sup>of</sup> ~~that~~ nationalities and ethnic groups, is not what we think it is. There are the English, the Welsh, the Scots and there are us, the West Indians, the Greeks, the Asians, <sup>in</sup> ~~and~~ the Pakistani's and Indians. Now within all these groups there is an internal battle taking place which is called <sup>?</sup> ~~(Casta)~~ <sup>1985</sup> cultural ...?"

IMCD  
I remember

He Iris

. Now within that we have got to form alliances. Given that we understand what Scottish nationalism means, what Welsh nationalism means, what Irish nationalism means, ~~and we have~~ <sup>we have</sup> got to know something else, which I will be talking about this



this context

inter  
evening. ~~But~~ <sup>and there are</sup> in a nationalist country the revolutionary nationalists, <sup>under</sup> the conservative bourgeois nationalists, <sup>And</sup> the conservative bourgeois nationalists in the formation of major states leads to <sup>national</sup>

<sup>neo.</sup> the formation of ~~major~~ colonial, oppressive states. Given those circumstances, if we understand that, the kind of combination we can make in British society, means we <sup>shall</sup> understand the extent of language oppression, the extent of cultural oppression and of economic oppression <sup>as well.</sup> It is that that has opened up this question, in the way we have raised it, in British society. Because in doing that, the question of our language, West Indian Creol language or the <sup>creolization</sup> formation language, Roxy teaches, researches on that - he <sup>has written books</sup> ~~teaches~~ about that and ~~written~~ books about it. Now, it meant that what's happened to the Welsh? and Welsh language? what's happened to the Scots? and Scottish language? what's happened to the Irish? <sup>And</sup> the Celtic languages? What has happened to them? in terms of the cultural revival of these societies, developing what Kay Carmichael was talking about today, those myths of creation which are products of the imagination. <sup>So the question arises</sup> Because myths are dreams, are ideas of how we have come into existence and how our existence can be changed, <sup>is</sup> it's <sup>part</sup> ~~probably~~ our dreamlife, it <sup>is</sup> not our actual life, but that dreamlife is absolutely important to the <sup>consciousness</sup>.

of people as to what they <sup>will</sup> really want for themselves both now and in the future. So given, that the suppression of myths of creation, and the fact <sup>they</sup> we have not been used, <sup>as part of it</sup> ~~but~~ growing literary consciousness become a suppression of power within these societies have really led to the suppression of the imagination. Not only the cultural imagination but political imagination as well. <sup>And</sup> given those circumstances it means that they were looked

I am. That was our point Kay Carmichael was talking about.

as  
with  
upon ~~as~~ suspicion, as inferior, as ~~degradeable~~ <sup>grading</sup> but, it is that we have  
to reconsider and recreate and recover as part of the need that <sup>for</sup>  
the new kind of individual <sup>salt</sup> ~~subconsciousness~~ and common  
aspiration.

Q Now you were making the point about what Kate Carmichael said  
about tying it up.?

IMD  
One of the points that John was making about language, I mean I  
think that anyone who comes to Glasgow will find that people on  
the streets are speaking a different language than what you see <sup>the</sup>  
on television screens, <sup>the</sup> and in a way that is the medium of  
conversation and exchange of ideas among a vast number of people  
in Scotland, <sup>And</sup> yet it hasn't got the recognition <sup>that it</sup>, I mean I  
understand that there are kind of society's for the return of the  
gaelic language but Scots-English has also got an important role  
to play because it seems to me to be an important language of  
communication too.

Q Well, they're  
Now there are societies for that, they tend to concentrate on  
historical versions of it rather than the spoken vernacular as it  
is most vibrant and exists particularly in Glasgow and the west  
of Scotland

Ans. There's an interesting <sup>lower</sup>  
The situation in London where, for example, in the ~~new~~ London  
education authority, doing surveys of languages spoken by school  
pupils, they identified that there were 173 different home  
languages spoken by school pupils in London apart from English.  
Now the possibilities <sup>is of doing something, do</sup> John says, about the country being one of <sup>different</sup>  
the nationalities <sup>because</sup> ethnic groups, <sup>and</sup> it actually creates a big

as groups, if  
opportunity for unity. If you take what I regard as the correct  
line on that, which is the point of unity is to sit down with a  
group of young people and to actually acknowledge factually that  
standard English, which is the language which they are supposed to  
do all of their all of  
be born with for literacy or with their education in, and which  
has national recognition and status, is not normal, because sub  
evidently to those people it is not get normal, so part of schooling them  
becomes 'what is this language which I am expected to do my  
literary skills in and is for my exams and writing things down'?  
How is it come to be the language of power? Why is it the  
language of power? What is my own language? and how does it work,  
should be part of the normal curriculum for all schools. If you are  
in the Scottish context it would be a different access because in  
London you have all those varieties. But I still believe from my  
experience of Scotland that it is the case that an overwhelming  
mass of Scottish people do not naturally speak standard English  
as their natural first (spoken of  
book of varieties) language. And to behave  
as if there is just English and that just reading and writing, is  
part of the cultural oppression that acknowledging the real  
language of people, what with their natural first languages is, actually  
a point of unity between different groups, because we can all  
write it as a common language. Standard English can still exist  
but it has to have its place as being a language of a certain  
utility which everybody can have access to but everybody, also has  
have their own language apart from that and have other languages  
studied. But if you take Scot's language, people need to know how  
does it sound? how does it operate? And in fact, yes, see! Oh, yes  
say 'hoose', we don't say 'house', and we say 'moose', it is a consistent  
pattern, right, and now how does the grammar work, in Scot's language? Anybody  
passing through a school in Scotland should know that it is a pattern  
normal grammatical pattern of language

language with which we can  
provided there's a common  
H.A.U.



we'd Just as in London without advocate that people in a Caribbean family, say their family come from Jamaica should know <sup>they well know is learning about Standard English</sup> they should know, - my family come from Jamaica, we use the Jamaican language, this is how its sound system works, it's grammar, <sup>these are</sup> is the words we use that are not in the standard English dictionary, <sup>they</sup> and you should know <sup>it's</sup> that it is <sup>a normal</sup> an old part of schooling. <sup>A</sup> and in that self-confidence it encourages people to take on other things in society, like, I can write books about my experience using my language. <sup>IAN R.H. Times Literary Supplement</sup> It may not be <sup>the IES</sup> but it is a valid statement.

<sup>I.M.D.</sup> I used to have enormous difficulty. I always had enormous difficulty, <sup>you know,</sup> <sup>any</sup> clients used to say, you know, "the policeman hit out". <sup>you know,</sup> <sup>But you see I.M.D. me hit him back!</sup> What is interesting about all of this, <sup>what is</sup> is the persistence of language, despite what the BBC has done, <sup>in spite of</sup> and the newspapers have done. <sup>for</sup> Different kinds of news, <sup>Papers,</sup> a variety of newspapers, the persistence of speech patterns as cultural valid statements continues within our societies. It doesn't matter whether it is the Soviet Union <sup>where</sup> the oversification has been attempted, <sup>to the same</sup> extent the <sup>done in</sup> same or anglicification has been at the colonies, <sup>in the</sup> Empire, it doesn't matter because we, <sup>you</sup> are part of the colonisation of Britain. The Scot's are part the colonisation of Britain. The Welsh are part of the colonisation of Britain. The Irish are part of the colonisation of Britain. <sup>But!</sup> In processes of colonisation there are always <sup>questions</sup> Christians, people who, for one reason or another are prepared to commit themselves to the power that exists, <sup>for any number of reasons.</sup> But that is not the fundamental issue. The fundamental issue is that the very process means <sup>transculturation?</sup> transculturation. It means that cultures relate to each other in one way or another. I am not saying aculturation I <sup>aculturation</sup>



<sup>that</sup>  
am saying transculturation, as cultures relate to each other in  
one way or another and they must have acceptable relationships,  
that is what I mean by transculturation.

RH and  
Interestingly enough another discussion that took place yesterday,  
on terms of political action I think we have a basis for unity,  
out of <sup>think kind of perception</sup> ~~conception~~ because, for example, when you talk of black  
people in British society, we were saying yesterday - <sup>and Gus</sup> John was  
saying <sup>and</sup> John La Rose was saying and Iain was saying that we have  
to deal with the question, <sup>we</sup> ~~we~~ have to deal with the question of  
the white working class in order to achieve our liberation. One  
of the things that we have to acknowledge is that actually it  
isn't just black people and white people, it isn't even just the  
black working class and the white working class, as separate <sup>groups</sup> that  
we have to acknowledge exist, but it <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ actually that inside the  
same person there is a mixture of these things. For example, in  
London you will get a black person whose family, like mine <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~  
<sup>they</sup> ~~they~~ come from Africa or <sup>other people from the</sup> ~~African~~ Caribbean, But as a result of  
growing up in British society we are a combination, as  
individuals, we are combination people, so in London there are  
black people who have totally grown up in London who are part of  
the London working class, who say for example use London language  
naturally, Jamaican language naturally as in one person. So in  
fact they overlap <sup>with white</sup> ~~the~~ black people ~~that~~ they grew up with. They  
have <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ black Caribbean bit of themselves, but they also have  
<sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ London working class bit which is almost identical with a  
white person who <sup>grew</sup> ~~has grown~~ up in London in the same area, went to  
the same school, lived in the same estate. And I have been  
interested for example to do ~~it~~ in a place like Glasgow, to see  
sometimes interviews with Pakistani people and Chinese people who

*are*  
were brought up in Glasgow, and they talk in ~~A~~ *Glasgow accents* and at first  
it is a shock, you know, to see how ~~they~~ *I don't know* ~~and~~ *And* ~~they~~ *sound so* and they re  
*talkings* talk in a Glaswegian way. And when that possibility exists, to say  
'what is it about ~~us~~ that is the same, that we combine on, and what  
is it that is distinctive about us, *?* and part of the self-determination  
~~examination~~ is to allow other people to express what is  
distinctive about themselves out of their own traditions, as well  
as well as combining with them in areas of common interest. *And I think that is*  
~~is~~ something I ~~have~~ got out of coming to this conference, *and* I think  
it ~~is~~ a basis for real unsentimental, self interested action to  
change society.

J.W.R.

*are accustomed to*  
One more thing I want to say: - people ~~that construct the~~  
structures in societies *yes* and how things change. ~~The number of~~ *one of the*  
things they never take into consideration is the fact that all  
fundamental change takes place on the basis of mass popular  
movements, and the moment of those mass popular movements. You  
don't need ~~any other~~ *the Labour* party to do it, you don't need a communist  
party to do it, you don't need a whatever party to do it. These  
mass popular movements are  
what impels ~~students~~ *change* and therefore if you believe that that is a  
historical possibility. And going through ~~British~~ *British history* we can  
see that that has been the case, and mention the chartist movement  
yesterday. And it really combines historically, *because* in common  
with ~~A~~ *not simply* ~~in Britain has been an~~ *it has built an empire* with the slave  
revolts taking place in the empire, in the Carribean, *et* that  
particular moment, almost the same historical *period* feeling. Yes? Now  
the point about *these popular movements* that impel change make the new  
constitutional structures, make the new social structures, and  
that given that we have *to have* confidence that in self determination

we are creating popular movements in the variety of conflicts,  
cultural, <sup>political</sup> social and so on, <sup>A</sup> and that that is much more  
fundamental than believing that the Labour party will do it. I  
spoke at a conference in Manchester recently and said people must  
have hope, that <sup>is</sup> fundamental to change, <sup>hope</sup> is fundamental to  
change. But there <sup>is</sup> no point hoping that the Labour party will  
do it for us, <sup>because, I said, there</sup> there are three serious obstacles to that. The  
first is the confederation of British industry the CBI, the  
second is the city, <sup>global</sup> and <sup>global</sup> global finance, <sup>A</sup> and the third,  
not unimportant is the United States. Britain has behaved more  
and more as a <sup>satellite</sup> sub-let of the United States. So any government in  
Britain, whether it is Conservative or Labour, faces that serious,  
difficult <sup>of</sup> transformation. <sup>every</sup> Now given the historical  
constitutional context in which party politics, <sup>electoral party politics</sup>  
works. It is not that <sup>for</sup> which will bring about the popular movements <sup>for</sup> ~~of~~  
that will.

Q Could I ask you if you want to comment on the keynotes speech  
from the conference. Chomsky's keynote speech.

I MCD Well,

I found that a lot of the things that Chomsky was saying were  
very interesting. <sup>but</sup> He concentrated on how those who have power  
keep power <sup>and</sup> in the means by which they do it, and that as an  
exercise was very interesting and some of what he said was said  
very elegantly. <sup>but</sup> But, the thing which I think that I would be  
much more interested in, is the means of resistance and the means  
by which the kind of popular movements that John has been talking  
about <sup>both</sup> ~~that both~~ come into existence, <sup>how</sup> they gain power, and the kind  
of changes that they bring about. And in a way what I think was  
missing from the keynote speech was any developed conception of



not how those who have power keep it, but how those who don't have power get it. <sup>And</sup> So this conference is about not just <sup>about</sup> self determination, but also about power and how to get it and in a sense the function <sup>of</sup> role of people like Chomsky, is really, I see it anyhow, <sup>as</sup> if you like stealing <sup>the</sup> with intellectual ground from the people who rule, the <sup>elites that</sup> run society, and challenging their justifications for the way that they are acting. But the much more important task, is to actually map out the <sup>paths</sup> parts of resistance which have already been <sup>trodden</sup> chopped and which we are going to have to work on in future. And I think that's what for me was a bit of a disappointment that the keynote speech didn't deal with that. <sup>And</sup> <sup>you know</sup> that's what I think needs to come out of the conference. <sup>And</sup> I like particularly, I mean, in terms of concrete suggestions, this was something, <sup>that</sup> there was this morning <sup>that</sup> John made an intervention in which he said that he felt one of the most oppressive institutions up and down the land was schools, and what we really need <sup>ed</sup> to do <sup>way</sup> is to start a movement to make schools more democratic, <sup>and</sup> indicated that that movement had to be based upon first and foremost students. And that <sup>was a</sup> ~~is~~ the point that we made in the report which we did ~~Murder in the playground~~ on the ~~Burnage~~ enquiry in Manchester. <sup>And</sup> It also echoed I think a discussion which we had last night, in the education field, where the whole business of religious education and religious bigotry in terms of education, eventually produced a very lively discussion in the Scottish context, <sup>because in a</sup> with this ~~inner~~ sense <sup>if you're</sup> which we ~~were~~ talking about anti-racism in England which is very important and you have got <sup>you know</sup> a lot of estates in Glasgow, <sup>k</sup> kids are coming home and asking their mother what is fenian bastard because that's what I got called at school today, and that's not been dealt with. So I think that whole business of democratisation of



schools and dealing with bigotry and so forth is important, and personally I am for all education being secular.

R.H. a  
I want to pick up the point that Iain was making about the power and how Chomsky thing about how I would have to get it and the fact that he talked about the power and how they keep power, and I wanted to mention something that happened in my own experience that inspired me. In the sixties one of the things I remember was this analysis, the type of analysis that Chomsky did, creates a feeling of, although you would recognize it I think it as a very acute analysis, it tends to demobilise you, because you think, well, if these people are so powerful what can ordinary people like us do? (And I remember all you do with so many books kids who can't reach his level of criticism.) But in the sixties they had, I remember, that do to do with the Portuguese colonies and how arrogant they were with their massive military force, in dealing with present societies I have given beside Mozambique and Angola I mean these guys are determined to have a liberation movement, I mean what can they do, they're there, there are illiterate peasants, there and there are very small numbers of them, but those illiterate peasants were able to defeat a nato power, and cause a revolution in Portugal. But if you have lived through that it inspires you to know that anything is possible, if you place faith in people's capacity to combine together in their own interests to get rid of their present situation, and in the discussion yesterday I was trying to show people experiences of suburbs in London who have had black struggles, and how, starting from small groups of people trying to fight against the oppression of the Police and the same thing is happening in the schools. Over say a 10 to 15 year period we arrived at a

I mean

IAN: Or you can't read too many books as they say

R But

RIGHT FAVOR leaves you are more powerless because you can't reach his level of criticism.

Guinea

situation where there were uprisings in every British city in 1981. But people in the discussion group were talking and I was asking <sup>them</sup> questions; what about these estates <sup>all</sup> <sup>around</sup> Glasgow where the depression and poverty is incredible, I mean, worse than black people had in London and yet there seems to be a pacivity in fighting, and people say oh! you know, there is no point in having <sup>the kind of struggles I was advocating as it is all</sup> constables out over things that are so very small, micro I think they call it. But I think <sup>not</sup> it is there that battles can take place, around, <sup>not</sup> much around the big ideas that we were talking about in the conference about how we change the whole of society. But as we did in our situation, what is the daily oppression that our people are facing and <sup>it was the</sup> ~~a place~~ <sup>Police and</sup> in the schools. In Glasgow it maybe is the Police, Social Security, and how rotten <sup>their</sup> ~~where~~ Easterhouse is or something. So that is where political activists should be, supporting those people to fight, not doing it for them, but combining with them to do it.

<sup>and that</sup>  
<sup>I'm</sup> We I think there <sup>is</sup> another point on that, is the process in demobilisation which is taking place. First of all, the political parties are largely responsible because they say to people 'don't worry organizing yourselves, rely on us, we'll do it for you'. And secondly, which I think, I don't know how far <sup>has been a development in</sup> that ~~scheme has developed into~~ Scotland, but in England the whole process of grants, voluntary organisations, <sup>John: Projects!</sup> ~~projects~~ <sup>IAN:</sup> projects, who get all this money from either urban aid or from local authority grants, where instead of being independant autonomous organisations they <sup>are</sup> always looking over their shoulder to see when the grant-giving body is approving what they are actually doing and so the <sup>Questioner: exactly the same here</sup> reference point for the organization instead of being on the

needs of the organization and the people who are part of it in  
the local community. <sup>the</sup> reference point becomes the council  
chamber and the councillors, who, you know you might want to a  
particular councillor you know, 'piss off, you are in the way,  
you've got nothing to suggest' but you know that next week you  
are going to have to get him to support ~~you~~ <sup>renew, you know,</sup> ~~renew the renewal of~~  
your grant, and that means that you <sup>I mean first</sup> have got people ~~who~~ <sup>all</sup> first of  
it creates a group of people who go from one voluntary <sup>you know</sup>  
organization to another, where the reference points become the  
community association, the tenants association that <sup>is</sup> paid for  
by the council, and there is a sort of circulation of people  
there, and <sup>nothing is...</sup> there is no independent autonomous mobilisation. Now  
I think that is a serious <sup>and a</sup> critical problem that we face in  
community organization. ~~I am not saying,~~ because I think there  
may be similar problems with relation to workplace organization  
with developments that have taken place with the trade union.

SLR. I want to

~~Can I~~ make a point here. We have always stood up against the  
incorporation of the black struggles into the CRC's, the  
~~Community~~ <sup>we saw</sup> Relations Councils. ~~Before we~~ <sup>Community</sup> ~~commend the~~ <sup>Committee</sup>  
Relations Councils <sup>as a</sup> the kind of colonial office <sup>for</sup> that the black  
Community in Britain, <sup>we're</sup> and therefore we ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> opposed to it  
politically, theoretically and still are opposed. And therefore  
we have <sup>always</sup> ~~all this~~ suggestion and put forward the <sup>theoretical</sup> ~~radical~~ position  
there has to be independent, autonomous, radical and  
revolutionary black political action <sup>there has</sup> as ~~you~~ <sup>have</sup> to be  
independent, autonomous radical revolutionary, white or other  
groups of political action. Without that there is no way you can  
change your circumstances or change the society.



Now what Roxy says is important, what Iain says is important,

Because I remember the ~~Battle~~ <sup>fight</sup> report, I mean, I knew the whole of London by the Police stations and the courts we went to all over the place, and organizing cases. For us a political case was not a ~~political~~ <sup>politico</sup> who ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> had a case and therefore we were supporting the ~~political~~ <sup>politico</sup> in court. ~~I forgot~~ <sup>That was not a political case.</sup> the case.

<sup>A</sup> The political case was an organization politically around the everydayness of oppression, fundamental, the everydayness of oppression, and political organization around the everydayness of oppression. ~~Of that left~~ <sup>Now that that took</sup> with all those battles from about the

1960's, the 1970's, right back to the 1980's eventually to the

intervention that we were able to make in 1980, ~~with the New Cross Mosque~~ <sup>sort of radical</sup>

Action Committee. We were the most advanced because of the kind <sup>position</sup> of action we had taken, <sup>because of the kind of action we had taken.</sup> Nothing to do with councils, nothing to do with CRC's, nothing to do with the Labour Party, <sup>and</sup> the

formation of the New ~~Comm~~ <sup>Comm</sup> Act and the intervention we were able to

make along with thousands of others eventually round the country <sup>recently</sup> the black <sup>people's day of</sup> action, with 20,000 people in the streets for

seven hours. And eventually the <sup>ministry</sup> of Merseyside of

Heseltine and Heseltine making the point in the Conservative Party Conference <sup>that we need a black middle class</sup> <sup>a</sup> rapid formation of <sup>a</sup> black middle class

just to hold down the situation. But it is important to

recognize that so far no study has been done to show to what

extent what took place in London between March 2nd and April around the country, how widespread that was. Social research <sup>hasn't</sup>

<sup>concerned</sup> ~~patterns concern~~ itself with that, <sup>But</sup> ~~that~~ I know through some pure personal experience that something happened in Edinburgh.

IAN:

And something happened in Dundee.

JLR and something happened in Dundee  
Roxy something happened in Grief



JLR

~~And something happened in Dundee.~~ And I went on holiday during that period, I went on holiday with my wife and child to a small village in Devon and discovered that there had been an arising in that small village in Devon also. So so far social research has not yet told us, the extent to which MIS knows, and the Special Branch knows, what happened around the country which made Thatcher speechless for the first time at that particular moment. Now it is that ~~what~~ <sup>that</sup> we mean by self determination, and the combination which takes place for the general ~~whim~~ <sup>will</sup>. ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> change situations both for individuals and ~~for~~ <sup>of course</sup> individuals combined ~~reformed~~ <sup>to form</sup> societies. Now I think that the points that have been made here as well as at the conference shows ~~you~~ that it is quite possible in Scotland as it is possible elsewhere in the country to ~~be~~ <sup>build</sup> such individual self determination and combined self determination and we believe that given that possibility this conference will have served a very important purpose.

I.M.D.

Could I just add, it ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> really taking up the point that John's making that people haven't examined the various rebellions that took place in 1981, ~~or~~ <sup>or</sup> the extent of them, because there is also a popular myth ~~that is~~ <sup>that</sup> put about that they were rebellions of black youth, and again we know from our experience that that was not so, they were popular rebellions of black and white youth ~~and Asian~~ youth in city after city after city. And the idea that they would all combine together which they did in certain instances, before the thing was broken up. <sup>kind of</sup> It really brings me to the point which I think is an important one which is, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> what intellectuals can and should be <sup>doing</sup> because it seems to me that it ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> important that the kind of things ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> Chomsky is doing that people like he continue to do, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> I am not against that, but

And  
Asian  
youth  
I am

what is needed is for other people who have the time to do the  
kind of research into what actually took place in 1981, what  
patterns of organization and what the patterns of resistance were. <sup>A</sup>  
and not leave it as something which remains in the archives of  
Scotland Yard or whoever collects that sort of information, if in  
fact they do collect it, which we don't even know for certain.  
And we ought to be <sup>you know there's struggles all over the place</sup> investigating struggles all over the place which  
get lost because people at universities and so forth are looking  
at the means of retaining power not at the means of resisting it  
and gaining power for working class communities. Populist games <sup>in</sup> in  
and power, that's what used to be studied.  
needs

Thank you.

page 8

Minds and Learning:  
The Christian Revolution.  
METAPHYSICS  
VOL IV no 3  
JULY 1973

Holland

→ McGill UNIV.  
DEPT of PHILOSOPHY  
PROFESSOR